ASSOCIATION OF

NEWSLETTER

ANCIENT

HISTORIANS

No. 44 February, 1988

Program, Annual Meeting University of Utah, 5-7 May, 1988

Thursday, 5 May

Evening Reception

Friday, 6 May

Session I - IMPERIALISM IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

Chair: Lisa Kallet - Marx (Smith College)

"Imperialism in the West: Athens' Master Plan," Frances Titchener (Utah State Univ.)

"The Influence of the Northern Italian Frontier on Roman Imperialism," Briggs Twyman (Texas Tech Univ.)

"Imperialism from the Outside, " Colin Wells (Trinity Univ.)

Comment: Arther Ferrill (Univ. of Washington)

Session II - PHILIP AND ALEXANDER

Chair: Carol G. Thomas (Univ. of Washington)

"Philip II and the Tyrants of Pherae," Julia Heskel (Boston Univ.)

"Career Progress Among Alexander's Macedonian Commanders," Waldemar Heckel (Univ. of Calgary)

"The Macedonian Royal Tombs at Vergina: Alexander's Goods?," Eugene N. Borza (Penn State Univ.)

Comment: Edward M. Anson (Univ. of Arkansas, Little Rock)

Business meeting

Banquet

Saturday, 7 May

Session III - NABATAEA AND ARABIA PETRAEA

Chair: Phillip Hammond (Univ. of Utah)

"The Nabataean Army," David Graff (Univ. of Miami)

"Demand, Competition and the Intensification of Nabataean Trade," David Johnson (Brigham Young Univ.)

"Red Sea Ports and the Arabia-India Trade," Steven Sidebotham (Univ. of Delaware.)

Comment: John Eadie, Micigan State Univ.

Session IV - GREECE AND MACEDONIA IN THE FOURTH CENTRURY B.C.

Chair: Charles D. Hamilton (San Diego State Univ.)

"Athens and the Politics of the Eastern Mediterranean World in the Fourth Century B.C.," Stephen Ruzicka (Univ. of North Carolina, Greensboro)

"Greek Self-Perception and the Macedonian Conquest," Michael Flower (Franklin and Marshall College)

"Demades' Last Years, 323/22-319/18," James Williams (SUNY at Geneseo)

Comment: Josia Ober (Montana State Univ.)

Full information, including the final detailed program, travel and housing arrangements and registration forms will be mailed to all members of the Association within a month. For additional information contact: Prof. W. Lindsay Adams, Department of History, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT 84112.

NEH SUMMER SEMINARS AND INSTITUTES

Seminars run from six to eight weeks and include stipends of \$2,750 or \$3,500 depending on the length of the seminar. Applications must be received by seminar directors by March 1, 1988.

The Religious, Political, and Social Significance of Roman Costume. Location: American Academy, Rome, Italy, June 20 to August 12, 1988. Director: Larissa Bonfante, Dept. of Classics, New York Univ., 23 Waverly Pl. New York, NY 10003.

Assyrian and Babylonian Empires, 745-539 B.C.: Political and Cultural History. Location: Oriental Institute, Univ. of Chicago, June 13 to August 5, 1988. Director: John Brinkman, Oriental Institute, 1155 58th St., Chicago, IL. 60637.

Religion and Society in Ancient Greece. Location: Stanford Univ. June 20 to August 12, 1988. Director: Michael H. Jameson, Stanford Univ., Dept. of Classics, Stanford, CA 94305.

Biblical Law in Historical Perspective. Location: School of Law, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley, June 20 to August 12, 1988. Directors: David Daube & Calum Carmichael, Cornell Univ., Dept. of Comparative Literature, 137 Goldwin Smith Hall, Ithaca, NY 14853.

The Analysis of Religious Systems: The Case of Ancient Judaism. Location: Brown University, June 20-August 12, 1988. Director: Jacob Neusner, Brown University, Program in Judaic Studies, Providence, RI 02912-1826.

Summer Institute: Judaic Studies in the Liberal Arts College and University. Location: Brown University, June 12 to July 22, 1988. Stipend: \$3000. Director: Ernest S. Frerichs, Director, Program in Judaic Studies, Brown Univ., Providence, RI 02912-1826.

COMPUTER NOTES

The Secretary has received a number of responses to Miriam Kahn's article on databases useful to ancient historians. The most important is a clarification by Ms. Kahn concerning the FRANCIS database which does not, in fact, include, as stated in the article, L'Année Philologique but does contain much of the data covered in L'Année. Also received was information concerning a further database of interest to ancient historians, namely, the Arts and Humanities Citation Index (AHCI) which currently covers thirty-six classics journals including Antike und Abendland, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies, Historia, and Mnemosyne and provides subject access by title words and citation.

Individual scholars may access AHCI and the MLA International Bibliography, which is online for the years 1965 to 1985, through the evening services BRS After-Dark and Knowledge Index respectively. In addition, Professor Ralph Mathisen informed the Secretary that he has constructed a bibliographical database of approximately 3,500 items concerning mainly

Late Antiquity. Each entry includes not only standard bibliographical information but also a number of condescribing the contents of the entry which permit a database program to select out all references dealing with a particular topic. Professor Mathisen is willing to do searches of his database for individuals and would like to contact persons who have compiled similar databases to explore the possibility of combining them into larger master files which could be made available to all ancient historians. Interested parties should write to: Prof. R. Mathisen, Univ. of So. Carolina, Dept. of History, Columbia, S.C. 29208.

Finally, the papers of the UCLA Conference on Classics and Computing have been published as Supplementary volume 1 of the journal *Favonius*. Copies cost \$10.00 and can be obtained from: *Favonius*, Dept. of Classics, UCLA, L.A., CA 90024.

AMERICAN ACADEMY SCHOLARSHIP

The Classical Society of the American Academy in Rome offers at least one \$1,500 scholarsip to enable a graduate student or teacher of classical languages and/or civilization to attend the Academy's summer session. \$100 of the summer session tuition will also be remitted by the Academy. Application forms (due February 15, 1988) may be obtained from: Norma Goldman, dept. of Greek & Latin, Wayne St Univ., Detroit, MI 48202.

MISCELLANEA

Classics in Canadian Universities, a guide to classicists and programs in Canada, may be obtained from: Prof. Richard Talbert, McMaster Univ., Dept. of History, Hamilton, ONT, L85 4L9, Canada. Price: \$2.50 (Can.) in Ontario; \$3.50 in rest of Canada and U.S.; \$4.50 overseas.

Meyer Reinhold and Emily Albu Hanawalt have co-authored a pamphlet entitled *The Classical Tradition: Teaching and Research.* Copies may be obtained from: American Philological Association, Dept. of Classics, Fordham Univ., Bronx, NY 10458-5154.

ERRATA

As printed the obituary of Prof. A.D. Momigliano contained several errors. Thus, paragraph 2, lines 11-12 should read: "study the controlling political and historical ideas of antiquity in relation to their development in successive periods. A broad prospectus, encompassing the whole of western thought, but close inspection of the essays and reviews in the...;" and paragraph 3, line 6 should read: "position in England at Bristol (1947-1951); this was followed in 1951 with the . . ." the Secretary extends his apologies the family and friends of Prof. Momigliano for these oversights.

NOMINATIONS AND ELECTIONS FOR OFFICE OF SECRETARY-TREASURER

The term of the Secretary-Treasurer expires with the May, 1988, meeting of the Association, and, having served two terms, the incumbent is ineligible for re-election. Nominating petitions for the position — signed by three members in good standing not belonging to the same institution, and countersigned by the nominee — must be received by the Secretary by April 15, 1988.

NOTICES

Paid-up members of the Association are entitled to a \$12.80 (20% discount) subscription to the American Journal of Ancient History. Write to AJAH, Dept. of History, Robinson Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge MA 02138.

1988 membership dues (\$5.00) are due on January 1, 1988. Members in arrears will find noted on their mailing label the last year in which they are paid up. Please remit current dues.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND PSYCHOHISTORY: SCHLIEMANN AND HIS CRITICS

(The Editor of this newsletter will solicit from specialists in their field essays on subjects of potential interest to AAH members. The following is another essay in this series -Ed.)

Heinrich Schleimann's press was mixed even in his own day. As William Gladstone was writing in his preface to Mycenae of "the splendid services which he [Schliemann] has conferred upon classical science," a satirical "telegram from Troy" in the Kladderadatsch "announced" discovery of Achilles' grave with Virchow recognizing the ankle bone although the body between head and ankle was missing. It concluded "Achilles stuck in pocket. All well. Schliemann." More neutral was Walter Leaf's obituary notice: "Dr. Schliemann was essentially 'epoch-making' in his branch of study, and it is not for epoch-making men to see the rounding off and completion of their task." Although Aegean archaeologists of the second and third generations have indeed done much to complete the task that Schliemann and his contemporaries began, they still have not agreed on a single assessment of Heinrich Schliemann's contribution to that archaeology.

The problem in reaching a verdict is two fold: the field has matured, discarding many of the techniques employed in its infancy. It has become a rigorous discipline demanding specialized expertise of a kind unknown in Schliemann's day. On the other hand, Schliemann's efforts were prolific, pplying the base on which subsequent prehistoric Aegean archaeology now rests. Thus neither can Schliemann be ignored.

Personally, too, Schliemann was the sort of "colorful" figure who attracts attention: a perseverer against huge obstacles, he was irascible, temperamental, unsure at times vet full of conceit at others. So pronounced were his unusual traits that they have attracted continuing attention. Responses today are as divided as they were in his own lifetime when hostility of the Berlin classical scholars (and others like artillery officer Bötticher) was balanced by support from German anthropologists (Virchow) and archaeologists (Dörpfeld) as well as from English classicists of the stamp of Savce and Mahaffy together with French scholars like Burnoff. Later, Schliemann became the object of the diagnostic skills of German psychoanalyst W. G. Niederland who saw childhood conflicts as the root of later obsession for digging. Even as Niederland was analyzing Schliemann's psychoses, Carl Blegen was describing the reexcavation of Hisarlik which he directed and awarding to Heinrich Schliemann full credit for recognition of that site's identity as Troy. More recently, allegations of Schliemann's inability to tell right from wrong and his deliberate distortion of the archaeological record by American scholars William Calder III and David Traill¹ have as their corollary the defense of Schliemann by archaeologists as diverse as Hartmut Döhl, Donald Easton and William McDonald; and ancient historians as eminent as Moses Finley.2

At this point, one might say with Terence Quot homines tot sententiae: suo quoque mos: each person who studies the larger subject of the Trojan War is free also to form an opinion of Schliemann. But a closer analysis suggests that a more measured response is in order. In a discipline as complex as archaeology has become, there are several levels of investigation requiring the cooperation of individuals possessing a variety of skills. Initially, data must be collected and analyzed through field archaeology. The second level involves chronological organization by means of relative and absolute dating. Cultural archaeology/history then adds a further dimension at the third level. Finally, at level four, inferences about human behaviour derive from social archaeology.³

This scheme describes the major divisions within the discipline of archaeology as it exists today. It also demonstrates the development of the field over time: nineteenth-century archaeologists operated essentially at the first level, gathering data. While inferences of chronological ordering, cultural history and human behaviour might result, the tools for accuracy were simply not available. The pioneer archaeologists only began to assemble the raw data. They did not possess the material to discern either patterns or processes. In fact, seldom were the first explorers of a site able to complete its excavation. Consider the renewed work at Troy, Mycenae, and Tiryns where Schliemann began to unearth the Bronze Age cultures.

We make a mistake, then, to have the same expectations of nineteenth-century archaeologists that we demand of today's specialists. Accomplishments must be seen in their own historical perspective and they must be judged accordingly. As an early practitioner, Schliemann's record has faults: haste and its consequences sum up a multitude of

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complaints. Longing to prove his main point that there was an historical Age of Heroes, Schliemann destroyed valuable material. How many architectural historians would wish to have the lost Athena Temple. Oh, to be able to restore the levels of the trench!

While these mistakes cannot be brushed aside, they can be set alongside other qualities. At the head of the list is Schliemann's admission of error: "Ich machte Fehler in Troja." Moreover, he knew the value of intrinsically worthless finds; he travelled extensively to understand topography; he drew on the expertise of specialists; he understood the need to preserve his finds through immediate publication and by proper display; he was willing to reevaluate conclusions; and he saw the value of comparative examples. Even by the gauge of subsequent decades, Schliemann set some remarkably high standards. As Döhl has demonstrated, Schliemann's early foray into experimental archaeology was not sustained until the inter-war period.

But what of his character? Is it permissible to value achievements of a person who may have exhibited psychopathic traits? Can we trust someone described as "ill, like an alcoholic, a child molester, or a dope-fiend"? In the first place it is necessary to use a qualifying verb since the case for the prosecution is not convincing. The evidence needed to reach a conclusion is, quite simply, absent. And must flaws of social behaviour necessarily impugn scholarly integrity? Must we establish Herodotus and Thucydides as model citizens in order to use their histories? By this philosophy, all anonymous accounts are worthless.

Psychobiography shares the failings of psychohistory in deriving its facts from psychoanalysis, not from history. Thus it is skewed since most practitioners of a discipline like history or archaeology have a subject other than themselves. Schliemann's subject was the material evidence of several Bronze Age sites. His success must be judged on his treatment of that subject.

To be sure, character analysis does have a place in the pursuit of history: the type of person attracted to archaeological endeavors in the nineteenth century is part of nineteenth century intellectual history just as a study of the collective personality of those drawn to ascetic celibacy belongs to an investigation of early medieval Europe. If Schliemann occasionally dug a site as if he were digging potatoes, that is for us to understand as part of the early character of the discipline as well as to regret. Schliemann's rage, weeping, bragging, divorce, friendships, and wealth were traits of the sort of man who was successful in defining a new field.

One of the participants in the controversy has acknowledged that the present sharpening of the controversy is unfortunate. "It can only do harm to research." Yet, until it is resolved, what stand should the modern student of ancient history take? It is possible, I believe, to regard Schliemann and his archaeological legacy separately. Schliemann himself can be viewed as an infant in the field of archaeology. Infants enrage as well as delight, and reaction to them is as changeable as is infants' own behaviour. Schliemann's

archaeological legacy has an identity that can be evaluated apart from the man, for it has been tested and augmented the work of others for nearly a century beyond Schliemann lifetime. The tests have been rigorous yet the foundations still stand. The testing will continue and, in the process, Schliemann will be proved wrong on some counts, right on others. Indeed, Schliemann's work *must* be assessed as part of the present and in light of the present for it has been incorporated into the data of current archaeology. Psychohistorical analysis of the man may also continue but Schliemann's character must be set in the context of Schliemann's own time, without being allowed to distort our assessment of the archaeological legacy. Schliemann died in 1891. Queen Anne is dead also.

C. G. Thomas University of Washington

¹For their views see Myth, Scandal, and History (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1986)

'Hartmut Döhl has examined Schliemann's archaeological record in Mythos und Ärgernis (Munich and Lucerne: C.J. Bucher, 1981). Finley's assessment is Schliemann's Troy—One Hundred Years After, the fourth annual Mortimer Wheeler Archaeological Lecture delivered in 1974 and published in The Proceedings of the British Academy, 60 (1974). For Donald Easton's assessment see, for example, "Schliemann's Mendacity—A False Trail?" Antiquity 58 (1984) 197-204 and "Priam's Treasure," Anatolian Studies 34 (1984) 141-169. William McDonald's position regarding the work of the early archaeologists is a main thread in Progress into the Past (London and Bloomington, Indiana, 1967).

³A succinct discussion of the levels of archaeological investigation is that of Irving Rouse, *Migrations in Prehistory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

⁴Calder in Calder and Traill, p. 37.

⁵Wolfgang Schindler in Calder and Traill, p. 82.

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Prof. Eugene N. Borza History Pennsylvania State Univ. University Park, PA 16802

